



VOX POPVLI
OR
NEWES FROM SPAYNE,
translated according to the Spanish coppie.

Which may serue to forwarne both England
and the Vnited Provinces how farre to
trust to Spanish pretences.



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HIs Catholique Majestie had given comendement that presently upon the return of Seigneur Gondomar his Leiger Embassadour from England, (1618) a speciall meeting of all the principal States of Spain (who were of his Councell) together with the Presidents of the Councell of Castile, of Arragon, of Italy, of Portugall, of the Indies, of the Treasure, of Warre, and especially of the holy Inquisition, should be held at Mouson in Arragon, the Duke of Lerma being appointed President, who should make declaration of his Majesties pleasure, take account of the Ambassadors service, and consult touching the state and religion respectively, to give satisfaction to his holynes Nuntio, who was desired to make one in this assembly concerning certaine overtures of peace and amitie with the English, and other Catholicke proiects, which might ingender suspition and ieaiousie betwixt the Pope and his Maicesty, if the mistery were not unfolded and the ground of those counsels discovered aforehand.

This made all men expect the Embassadours returne with a kinde of longing, that they might behold the issue of this meeting, and see what good for the Catholike cause the Embassadors employment had effected in England, answerable to the generall opinion conceived of his wisdomes, and what further proiect would be set on foot, to become matter for publike discourse.

At length he arrived, and had present notice given him from his Maiestie, that before he came to Court he should give up his account to this assemblie. Which command he gladly received as an earnest of his acceptable service, and gave thanks that for his honour he might publish himselfe in so iudicious a presence.

He came first vpon the day appointed to the Counsell chamber (exce the Secr.) not long after all the Counsell of state and the Presidents met, there wanted onely the Duke of Lerma and the

the Popes Nuntio, who were the head and feet of all the assembly. These two stayed long away for divers respects. The Nuntio that he might expresse the greatnesse of his master, and lose the sea of Rome no respect by his oversight, but that the benches might be full to observe him at his approach.

The Duke of Lerma to expresse the authoritie & dignitie of his owne person, and to shew how a servant put in place of his master, exacts more service of his fellow servants then the master himselfe. These two stayed till all the rest were weary of waiting, but at length the Nuntio (supposing all the Counsell set) launched forth and came to roade in the Counsel chamber, where (after mutuall discharge of duetie from the company and blessing vpon it from him) he sat downe in solemne silence, grieving at his oversight when he saw the Duke of Lerma absent, with whom he strove as a competitor for pompe and Glorie.

The Duke had sent before, and understood of the Nuntios being there, and stayed something the longer, that his boldnes might be observed, wherein he had his desire; for the Nuntio hauing a while patiently driven away the time with seuerall complements to seuerall persons, had now almost run his courtship out of breath, but that the Duke of Villa Hermosa (President of the Councel of Aragon) fed his humor by the discharge of his owne discontentment, upon occasion of the Duke of Lerma his absence, and beckned Seigneur Gondomor to him, using this speech in the hearing of the Nuntio, after a sporting manner:

How unhappie are the people where you haue been, first for their soules, being heretiques; then for their estates, where the name of a favourite is so familiar: how happie is our state, where the keyes of life and death are so easily come by, (pointing at the Nuntio) hanging at euery religious girdle, & where the doore of iustice and mercie stand equally open to all men, without respect of persons? The Embassador knew this Ironical stroke, to be intended as a by-blow at the Nuntio, but sully at the Duke of Lerma (whose greatnes begā now to wax heavy towards declension) and therefore he returned this answer: Your excellencie knoweth the state is happie where wise favourites govern

gouerne Kings if the Kings themselves be foolish, or where wise Kings are, who having favorites, whether foolish or of the wiser sort, will not yet be governed by them. The state of England, (howsoever you heare of it in Spayne or Rome) is too happie in the last kinde: They neede not much care what the favorite be (though for the most part he be such as prevents all suspicion in that kinde; being rather chosen as a scholler to be taught and trained vp, then as a tutor to teach,) of this they are sure, no Prince exceeds theirs in personall abilities; so that nothing could be added to him in my wish, but this one, that he were our vassayle and a Catholique.

With that the noise without gave notice of the Duke of Lermas entrance, at whose first approach the whole house arose, though some later then other, as envie had hung plummets on them to keep them downe, the Nuntio onely sat unmooued, the Duke cherished the obeysance of the rest with a familiar kind of cariage, too high for courtesie, as one not neglecting their demeanors, but expecting it, and after a filiall obeysance to the Pope his Nuntio, sat downe, as President vnder the cloth of state, but somewhat lower; then after a space given for admiration, preparation, and attention, he began to speake in this manner:

The King my master (holding it more honourable to doe then to discoure, to take from you the expectation of Oratorie, used rather in schooles and pulpits then in Councils) hath appointed me President in this holy; wise, learned, and noble assembly; A man naturally of a slow speech, and not desirous to quicken it by art or industrie, as holding action onely proper to a Spaniard as I am by birth, to a souldier as I am by profession, to a King as I am by representation; take this therefore briefly for declaration both of the cause of this meeting and my master his further pleasure. There hath been in all times from the worlds foundation one chiefe commandor or Monarch upon the earth: This needs no further prooffe then a backe looking into our owne memories and histories of the world, neither now is there any question (except with infidels and heretiques) of that one chiefe commandor in spirituals in the unitie

of whose person the members of the visible Church are included, but there is some doubt of the chief commander in temporals, who (as the moon to the sun) might governe by night as this by day, and by the sword of iustice compell to come in, or cutt off such as infringe the authoritie of the keyes. This hath been so well vnderstood long since, by the infallible chaire, as that thereby vpon declension of the Romane Emperours, and the increase of Romes spirituall splendor (who thought it unnaturall that their sun should be sublunary) our nation was by the Bishop of Rome selected before other peoples to conquer and rule the nations with a rod of Iron, and our Kings to that end adorned with the title of Catholike King, as a name aboue all names under the sunne (which is) under Gods Vicar general himselfe the Catholike Bishop of soules. To instance this point by comparison, looke first vpon the grand Seigneur the great Turk, who hath a large title, but not universall. For besides that he is an infidell, his command is confined within his owne territories, and he stiled not Emperour of the world, but of the Turks and their vassals onely.

Among Christians, the defender of the faith was a glorious stile, whilst the King to whom it was given by his holynes, continued worthy of it. But he stood not in the truth, neither yet those that succeed him. And beside, it was no great thing to be called what every Christiā ought to be, defender of the faith; no more then to be stiled with France, the most Christian King, wherein he hath the greatest part of his title commō with most Christians. The Emperour of Russia, Rome, Germany, extend not their limits further then their stiles, which are locall, onely my master the most Catholike King is for dominion of bodies, as the universall Bishop for dominio of soules ouer all that part of the world which we call America (except where the English intruders vsurp) and the greatest part of Europe, with some part of Asia and Africa by actual possessio, & over all the rest by reall & indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth this right to be derived frō the free and fatherly donation of his holynes, who as the sun to this moon lends luster by reflection to this kingdom, to this King, to this King of Kings my master: what therefore he hath, howsoever gotten, he may keep & hold: what he can get from any

any other King or Cōmānder by any stratageme of war or pre-
tence of peace he may take. For it is theirs onely by vsurpation
except they hold of him from whom all civill power is derived,
as ecclesiasticall from his holynes. What the ignorant call trea-
son, if it be on his behalf is truth; & what they call truth, if it be
against him is treason: & thus all our peace, our warre, our trea-
ties, mariages, and whatsoever intendment else of ours, aimes
at this principall end, to get the whole possession of the world,
and to reduce all to vnitie under one reinporall head, that our
King may truly be what he is stiled, the catholick and universal
King. As faith is therefore universal & the Church universal, yet
so as it is under one head the Pope, whose seate is & must neces-
sarily be at Rome where S. Peter sate: so must all men be subiect
to our and their Catholike King, whose particular seate is here
in Spaine, his universall every where; this point of State or ra-
ther of faith, we see the Romane Catholik religion hath taught
every where, and almost made naturall, so that by a key of gold
by intelligence, or by way of confession, my master is able to un-
lock the secrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their subiects
allegiance, as if they knewe themselves rather my master his
subiects indeed, then theirs whom their birthes haue taught
to miscall Sovereignes. We see this in France and in England
especially, where at once they learne to obey the Church of
Rome as their mother, to acknowledge the Catholique King
as their father, and to hate their own King as an heretique and
an vsurper. So we see Religion and the State are coupled to-
gether, laugh and weep, flourish and fade, and participate of ei-
thers fortune, as growing vpon one stock of policie; I speak this
the more boldly in this presence, because I speake here before
none but natieue persons, who are partakers both in themselves
and issues of these triumphs aboue all those of ancient Rome,
& therefore such (as besides their oathes) it concernes to be se-
uer. Neither need we restraime this libertie of speech from the
Nuntio his presence, because that besides that he is a Spaniard
by birth, he is also a Iesuite by profession, an order raised by the
prouidence of Gods Vicar to accomplish this monarchy the bet-
ter, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as publicke
agents and priue Counsellors to this end, Wherein the wise-
dome

dome of this state is to be beheld with admiration, that as in temporall warre it employes, or at least trusts none but natives, in Castile, Portugall or Aragon; so in spirituall it employes none but the Iesuites, and so employes them, that they are generally reputed, how remote soever they be from vs, how much soever obliged to others, still to be ours, and still to be of the Spanish faction, though they be Polonians, English, French, & residing in those countries & Courts; the penitents therefore & all with whom they deale and converse in their spirituall trafficke must needs be so too, and so our Catholique King must needs haue an invisible kingdome, & an unknowne number of subiects in all dominions, who will shew themselves and their faiths by their works of disobedience whensoever we shal haue occasion to vse that Iesuiticall vertue of theirs. This therefore being the principall ends of all our counsels (according to those holy directions of our late pious King Philip 2. to his sonne now reviving) to aduance the Catholike Romane religion; and the catholike Spanish dominion together, we are met now by his Maiesties commaund to take account of you (Seigneur Gondomor) who haue been Embassadour for England, to see what good you haue effected there towards the advancement of this work, and what further proiect shall be thought fit to be set on foot to this end. And this is briefly the occasion of our meeting.

Then the Embass. (who attended bare headed all the time) with a low obeisance began thus. This most laudable custome of our Kings, in bringing all officers to such an account, where a review and notice is taken of good or bad services upon the determination of their employments, resembles those Romane triumphs appointed for the souldiers; and as in them it provoked to courage, so in us it stirres vp to diligence. Our master converseth by his Agents with all the world, yet with none of more regard then the English, where matter of such diversitie is often presented (through the severall humours of the State, and those of our Religion and faction) that no instructions can be sufficient for such negotiations, but much must be left in trust, to the discretion, iudgment and diligence of the incumbent. I speake not this for my own glory, I having been re-
strayned

strayed and therefore deserved meanly) but to forewarne on
 the behal of others, that ther may be more scope allowed the
 to deal in as occasion shall require. Briefly this rule delivered
 by his excellency was the card and Compas by which I sayled
 to make profit of al humors, and by all meanes to advance the
 state of the Romish faith, and the Spanish faction together, upō
 all advantage eyther of oathes, or the breach of the; for this is
 an old observation but a true, that for our pietie to Rome, his
 holynes did not onely give, but blesse us in the conquest of the
 new world, And thus in our pious perseverance we hope stil
 to be conquerours of the old. And to this end wheras his ex-
 cellencie in his excellent discourse, seemes to extend our out-
 ward forces & private aimes onely against heretiques and re-
 straine them in true amitie with these of the Romish religion :
 This I affirme, that since there cā be no security, but such prin-
 ces though now Romish Catholiques, may turne heretiques
 hereafter ; my aimes haue ever been to make profit of all, & to
 make my master, master of al, who is a faithful & constant son-
 ne of his mother Rome. And to this end I behold the ende-
 vours of our Kings of happy memorie, how they haue achie-
 ved kingdomes and conquests by this policy, rather the by open
 hostility, and that without difference, as wel from their allies
 and kinsfolks, men of the same religion, and profession, such as
 were those of Naples, France and Navar, though I doe not men-
 tion Portugall now united to us, nor Savoy (that hardly slipt frō
 us) as of an adverse and heretical faith. Neyther is this rule left
 of, as the present kingdome of France, the State of Venice, the
 Low-countries, Bohemia, (now al labouring for life under our
 plots) apparantly manifest. This way therefore I bent my engins
 in England, as your honours shal particularly heare. Neyther
 shal I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the services I haue there
 done, because this state hath been acquainted with many of
 them here to fore by the intercourse of letters and messengers.
 Those onely I will speak of that are of later edition, done since
 the returne of the Lord Rosse frō hence, and may seeme most
 directly to tend to those ends formerly propounded by his Ex-
 cellencie ; that is, the advancement of the Spanish State and
 Romish Religion together.

First it is well observed by the wisdom of our State, that the King of England, who otherwise is one of the most accomplished Princes that ever reigned, extremely hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a Peacemaker, as that for it he will do or suffer any thing. And withall they have beheld the general bountie & munificence of his minde, and the necessity of the state so exhausted, as it is unable to supply his desires, who onely seeks to have that he might give to others. Upon those advantages they have given out their directions and instructions both to me and others, and I have observed the so farre as I was able.

And for this purpose, whereas there was a marriage propounded betwixt them and us, (howsoever I suppose our State too devout to deale with heretiques in this kinde in good earnest, yet) I made that a cover for much intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine whatsoever I desired, whilst the State of England longed after that marriage, hoping thereby (though vainely) to settle peace, and fill the Exchequer.

Here the Arch Bishop of *Toledo*, Inquisitor generall stepped up and interrupted Gondamor, saying, that marriage was not to be thought upon; first for religions sake, lest they should indanger the soule of the younge Lady and the rest of her company, who might become hereticks: secondly for the state, lest by giving so large a portion to heretiques they should enrich and inable them for warres, & impoverish and weaken the Catholics.

To the first objection the Popes Nuntio answered, that his holynes for the Catholique cause would dispense with the marriage, though it were with a Turke or infidel. 1. That there was no valuable danger in hazarding one for the gaining of many, perhaps of all. 2. That it was no hazard, since women (especially yong ones) are so oblique to be removed from their opinions, and abler to worke Solomon to their opinions, then Solomon to work them to his faith. 3. That it was a great advantage to match with such from whom they might break at pleasure, having the catholique cause for a colour, and besides, if need were to be at liberty in all respects since there was no faith to be kept with heretiques. And if his Holynes may dispece
with

with the murder of such, & dispose of their crownes (as what good Catholique doubts but he may?) much more may he, and will he in their mariages to prevent the leprous seed of heresie, and to settle Catholique blood in the chaire of State.

To the second objection the Ambassadour himselfe answered, saying, that though the English generally loathed the matche, and would as he thought buy it off with halfe of their estates, (hating the nation of Spain, and their religion, as appeared by an uproare and assault a day or two before his departure from London by the Apprentices, who seemed greedy of such an occasion to vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his mischiefe) yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed. First the begging and beggarly Courtiers, that they might haue to furnish their wants. Secondly the Romish Catholiques, who hoped hereby at least for a moderation of fynes, and lawes, perhaps a tolleraaion, and perhaps a total restauration of their religion in England. In which regard (quoth he) I haue knowne some zealous persons protest, that if at their friendes and halfe their estates could procure the service of our Lady (if she came to be married too their Prince) they would freely use the meanes: faithfully to fight under her colours, when they might doe it safely. And if it came to portion, they would underhand contribute largely of their estates to the Spanish Collector, and make up halfe the portion out of themselves, perhaps more. So that by this marriage it might be so wrought, that the state should rather be robd and weakened (which is our ayne) then strengthened, as the English vainely hope. Besides in a small tyme they should worke so far into the body of the State, by buying Offices and the like, whether by sea or land, of iustice civil or ecclesiastical, in Church or State (all being for money exposed to sale) that with the helpe of the Iesuites, they would undermine them with meere wit (without gunpowder) and leave the King but a few subjects whose faithes hee might rely upon, whilst they were of a faith aduers to his. For what catholique body that is found at the hart, can abide a corrupt and heretical head?

With that the Duke, *Medina del Rio Secco*, president of the

council of warr and one of the council of State rose up and sayd his Predecessors had felt the force and wit of the English in 88. And he had cause to doubt the Catholiques themselves that were English and not fully Iesuited, upon any forreigne invasion would rather take part with their owne King (though a heretique) then with his Catholique Maj^{tie} a stranger.

The Ambassadour desired him to be of another minde since first for the persons generally their bodies by long disuse of armes vvere disabled and their mindes effeminated by peace and luxury, far from that they were in 88. when they were dayly sleight in our blood and made hearty by customary conquests. And for the affectiō of those whom they call Recusants (quoth he) I know the bitterness of their inveterate malice, & haue seē oysfarr into their natures as I dare say they will be for Spaine against all the world. Yet (quoth hee) I assure your Honours I could not imagine so basely of their King and State as I haue heard them speake. Nay their rage hath so perverted their judgements that what I my self haue seen and heard proceed from their King beyond admiration, even to astonishment, they haue slighted, misreported, scorned, and perverted to his disgrace and my reioycing, magnifying in the meane time our defects, for graces.

Here the *Duke Pastrana* president of the Councell for Italy, steps up and sayd, he had lately read a booke of one Camdens called his *Annalles*, where writing of a treaty of mariage long since betwixt the English *Elizabeth* & the french Duke of *Andion*, he there observes that the mariage vvas not seriously intended on eyther side, but politickly pretended by both States, counterchangeably, that each might effect their owne ends.

There (quoth he) the English had the better, and I haue some cause to doubt, since they can dissemble as vvel as wee, that they haue their aymes underhand, as we haue, and intend the match as little as we doe; And this (quoth he) I beleue the rather because their King as he is wise to consult and consider, so he is a constant master of his word, and hath written and giuen strong reasons against matches made vvith persons of contrary religions, which reasons no other man can answer, and therefore doubtleffe he wil not go from or conncell his sonne to forsa-

to forsake those rules layd down so deliberately.

Your Excellency mistakes (quoth the Ambassadour) the advantage was the one the side of the English, because the French sought the match: now it must be on ours, because the English seeke it, who will grant any thing rather the breake off, and besides haue no patience to temporize and dissemble in this or any other disigne as the French haue long since wel obserued: for their necessities will giue them neither time, nor rest, nor hope els where to be supplied. As for their King I cannot search into his hart, I must beleeeve others that presume to know his minde, heare his words, and read his writings, and these relate vvhath I haue delivered: But for the rest of the people as the number of those that are truly religious are euer the least and for the most part of least accompt, so is it there, where if an equall opposition be made betwixt their truly religious and ours, the remainder which wilbe the greatest number will stand indifferent and fall to the stronger side where there is most hope of gaine and glorie, for those two are the gods of the magnitude & the multitude, Novv these see apparantly no certain supplies of their wants but from us.

Yes (quoth the Duke) for even now you sayd the general state loathing this match would redeme the feare there of with half of their estates. It is therefore but calling a Parliament and the busines were soon effected.

A Parliament (quoth the Ambassadour) nay therein lies one of the principal seivices I haue done in working such a dislike betwixt the King and the lower house by the endeavor of that honourable Earle and admirable Engine (a sure servant to us and the catholike cause while he lived) as the King will never indure Parliament againe, but rather suffer absolute want when receive conditionall relief from his subjects. Besides the matter was so cunningly caried the last Parliament, that as in the powder plot the fact effected should haue been imputed to the Puritans (the greatest zilots of the Calvinian sect) so the proposition which damde up the proceedings of this Parliament howsoever they were inveted by Romane Catholiques and by the intended to disturbe that session, yet were propounded in favor of the Puritans, as if they had bee hãmered in their forge.

Which very name and shadowe the King hates, it being a sufficient aspersion to disgrace any person, to say he is such, & a sufficient barre to stop any suite & utterly to crosse it to say it smels of or inclines to that partie. Moreover there are so many about him who blow this cole fearing their owne stakes, if a Parliament should inquire into their actions, that they use all their art and indutrie to withstand such a counsell; perswading the King he may rule by his absolute prerogative without a Parliament, and thus furnish himself by varying with us, and by other domestick projects, without subsidies: when, levying of subsidies and taskes have been the onely use princes haue made of such assemblies. And whereas some free mindes amongst the resembling our Nobilitie who preserve the priuledge of subjects against soveraign invasion, call for the course of the common lawe, (a lawe proper to their nation) these other tyme servers cry the lawes down and cry up the prerogative, whereby they prey upon the subject by suites and exactions, milk the estate and keep it poore, procure themselves much suspition amongst the better & more judicious sort, & hate amongst the oppressed commons, & yet if there should be a Parliament such a course is taken as they shal never choose their sheere Knights and Burgesses freely, who make the greater half of the body thereof, for these being to be elected by most voices of Freeholders in the countrey where such elections are to be made, are caried which vway the great persons vvhich haue lands in those countries please, who by their letters command their tenants, followers and friends to nominate such as adhere to them, and for the most part are of our faction, and respect their owne benefit or grace rather then their countreys good, yea the countrey people themselves will every one stand for the great man their Lord or neighbour, or master, without regard of his honesty, wisdom, or religion. That which they ayme at (as I am assured of by faithfull intelligence) is to please their landlords & to renew their lease, in which regard they will betray their Countrey and religion too, & elect any man that may most profite their particular. Therefore it is unlikely there should ever be a Parliament, & impossible the Kings debts should be payd, his wants sufficiently repaired, and himselfe left

left fal handed by such a course, & indeed as it is generally thought) by any other course but by a marriage with us. For which cause whatsoever proiect we list to atiept, enters safely at that dore, vvhilst their policie lies a sleepe and will not see the danger, I haue made triall of these particulars, and found few exceptions in this generall rule.

There by I and their ovvne wants together haue kept them from furnishing their Navy, which being the wal of their Island, & once the strongest in Christendome lies now at roade unarmed & fit for ruine. If ever vve doubted their strength by sea, now vve need not, there are but few ships or men able to looke abroad or to live in a storme, much lesse in a sea fight. This I effected by bearing them in hand the furnishing a Navy bred suspicion in my master & so would avert his mind from this match, the hope of vvhich rather then they would loose, they would loose almost their hope of heaven.

Secondly all their voyages to the East Indies I permit rather vwith a colourable resistance then a serious. Because I see them not helpful but hurtfull to the state in generall, carying out Gould and silver bringing home spece, silks, feathers, and the like toyes, and insensible wasting the common stock of coyne and bullyon, whilst it fills the Custome house and some private purses. who thereby are inable to keep this discommodity on foot by bribes; especially so many great persons (even Statesmen) being venturers and sharers in the gaine. Besides this wasteth their Mariners, not one of ten returning. Which I am glad to heare, for they are the men vve stand in feare of.

3. As for their West indian voyages, I withstand them in earnest because they begin to inhabite there and to fortifie themselves; and may in tyme there perhaps raise an other Eagle, to withstand our new Spaine in America, as this old England opposeth our present State; and cloudes the glorious exterd therof in Europe. Besides there they trade for commodities without wast of their treasure, & often returne Gould for knives, glases, or the like trifles, and that without such losse of their Mariners as in other places. Therefore I crosse vvhatsomever intendements were projected for Virginea or the Bermudas; because I see they may be hereafter really helpe full unto them,

them, as now they serve for draines to unloade their populous State, which else would overflow its own bancks by continuance of peace, and turne head upon it self or make a body fit for any rebellion.

And so farre I prevailed herein, as I caused most of the Refusants vvho were sharers to withdraw their venters & discourage the vvork, so that besides private persons unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publike purse. And we know by experience such voyages and plantations are not effected without great meanes to sustaine great difficulties, and with an unwearied resolution and power, to meete all hazards and disasters with strong helpes and continuall supplies, or else the undertaking proves idle.

4. Fourthly. By this meanes likewise I kept the voluntary forces from Venice, till it vvvas almost too late to set out. And had a hope that vvork of seacrecy should haue broken forth to action, before these could haue arrived to succour them.

5. Fifthly, I put hard for the Cautionary tovvnes (which our late King Philip of happy memory so aymed at, accounting the keyes of the low Countries) that they might be delivered to his Catholike Majestie as the proper owner. And had perhaps prevailed, but that the protest enemy to our State and Church, vvho dyed shortly after, gave counsell to restore them to the rebellious States; as one that knew Pouillar Common wealthes to be better neighbours, surer friends, and lesse dangerous enemyes, thā Monarchies; and so by his practise rescued them from my handes, and furnished the Excheaquer from thence for that tyme. Neyther vvvas I much grieved at this; because the Dependancy they had before of the English seemed now to be cut off, and the interest the English had in the and their cause to be taken avvay, vvvhich must be sully and finally effected before we can hope eyther to conquer them or England, vvho holding together are too strong for the world at sea, & therefore must be disunited, before they can be overcome. This point of State is acknowledged by our most experienced Petitioner and sure friend *Monsieur Barnuevelt*, vvvhose succeeding plots to this end, shall beare vvitness for the depth of his judgement.

6. But the last service I did for the State, was not the least, when I underwrought that admirable Engine *Raleigh*, and so was the cause his voyage (threatning so much daunger and damage to us) was overthrowne, and himselfe returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death, neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, and all strings hold. But the determination of my commission, would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution, vvhich I desired the rather, that by concession I might haue wrung from the inconsiderate English, an acknowledgement of my masters right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first foot, And this I did to stop their mouthes hereafter, and because I would quench the heate and valour of that nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to looke at our sea, or breathe upon our Coastes. And lastly because I would bring to an ignominious death, that old *Fyras*, who is one of the last now living, bred under that deceased English *Vrigo*, and by her flesht in our blood and ruine. To doe this I had many Agents, first diuers Courtiers who were hungrie and gaped wide for Spanish gould; secondly some that bare him at the heart for inveterate quarrels; Thirdly some forreigners who having in vaine sought the *Elixir* hitherto, hope to finde it in his head; Fourthly all mē of the Romish faith who are of the Spanish faction, and would haue been my bloodhounds, to hunt him or any such to death willingly, as persons hating the prosperitie of their Country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their owne nation, in respect of us and our Catholike cause; Lastly I left behinde mee such an instrument composed artificially of a secular understanding and a religious profession, as hee is every way adicted to serue himselfe into the closet of the heart, and to worke upon feminine lenity, who in that countie haue masculine spirits to command and pursue their plots unto death. This therefore I accompt as done, and rejoyce in it, knowing it will be very profitable to us, gratefull to our faction there; and for the rest, what though it be crosse to the people, or the Clergie? we that onely negotiate for our owne gaine, and treat about this marriage for our owne ends, can conclude or breake off when we see our

time, without respect of such as can neither profit us, nor hurt us; for I haue certaine knowledge that the commons generally are so effeminate and cowardly, as that they at their musters (which are seldome and slight, onely for the benefit of their muster-master) of a thousand souldiers, scarce one hundred dare discharge a musket, and of that hundred, scarce one can use it like a souldier. And for their armes, they are so ill provided, that one corseler serveth many men, when such as shew their armes upon one day in one place, lend them to their frēds in other places to shew when they haue use. And this if it be spied, is only punished by a mulct in the purse, which is the officers aime, who for his advantage winkes at the rest, and is glad to finde and cherish by connivence profitable faults which increase his revenue. Thus stands the state of that poore miserable country, which had never more people and fewer men. So that if my master should resolve upon an invasion, the time never fits as at this present, securitie of this marriage and the disuse of armes having cast them into a dead sleepe, a strong and wakening faction being ever amongst them ready to assist us, and they being unprovided of shippes and armes, or hearts to fight, an universall discontentment filling all men. This I haue from their muster-masters and Captaines, who are many of them of our religion, or of none, and so ours, ready to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my masters servants in fee.

Thus much for the state particularly, wherein I haue bent my selfe to weaken them and strengthen us, & in all these haue advanced the Catholicke cause, but especially in procuring favours for all such as favour that side, and crossing the other by all meanes. And this I practise my selfe & give out to be generally practised by others, that whatsoever successe I finde, I still boast of the victory, which I doe to dishearten the heretiques, to make them suspicious one of another, especially of their Prince and their best Statesmen, and to keepe our owne in courage, who by this meanes increase, otherwise would be in danger to decay.

Now for religion, and for such designs as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policie of that late Bishop of theirs (*Banroft*) who stirred up and maintained a dangerous schisme,

schisme, betweene our secular Priests and Iesuites, by which he discovered much weakenes, to the dishonor of our Clergie, and preiudice of our cause. This taught me (as it did *Barnvelt* in the Low countries) to worke secretly and insensibly betweene their Contormists and Non conformists, and to cast an eye as far as the Orcade; knowing that busines might be stirred vp there, that might hinder proceedings in England, as the French euer vsed Scotland to call home the forces of England, and so to prevent their conquests. The effect you haue partly seene in the Earle of *Argile*, who sometimes was Captaine for the King and Church against the great Marquis *Hunsley*, and now fights vnder our banner at *Bruxels*, leauing the cretles of S. George & S. Andrewe for the staffe of S. Iames. Neirher doe our hopes end here, but we daily expect more reuolters, at least such a disunion as wil not admit solid concilemēt, but will send some to us, and some to Amsterdam. For the King (a wise and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the kingdomes, which he sees cannot be effected, where the least ceremony in religion is continued, diuers sharp & bitter braules from thence arising, whilst some struing for honor more then for truth, prefer their owne way & wil, before the general peace of the Church & the edification of soules) he I say seekes to worke both Churches to vniformitie, and to this end made a jorney into Scotland, but with no such successe as he expected, for diuers of ours attended the traine, who stirred vp humors and factions, and cast in scruples and doubts to hinder & crosse the proceedings; yea those that seeme most aduerse to vs and aduerse from our opinions, by their disobedience and example helpe forward our plots, and these are encouraged by a factious and heady multitude, by a faint and irrefolute clergie, (many false brethré being amongst their Bps) & by the prodigal Nobilitie who maintaine these stits in the Church, that thereby they may safely keepe their Church-livings in their hands, which they haue most sacrilegiously seased vpon in the time of the first detormatiō, & which they feare would be recovered by the Clergy if they could be brought to brotherly peace & agreement; for they haue seene the King very bountifull in this kind, hauing lately increased their pelliōs & settled the clergy a cōpetēt

maintenance,&c besides out of his owne meanes vvhich in the kingdome is none of the greatest, having brought In and restored whole Bishopricks to the Church, which were before in lay-mens hands, a great part of the Nobilities estates consisting of spirituall lands, vvhich makes them cherish the puritanicall faction, who will be content to be trencher-fed with scraps and crummes and contributions and arbitrary benevolences from their Lords and Lairds and Ladies, and their adherents and followers.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how if this act of the Kings, wherein hee is most earnest and constant, should so far thrive, as it should effect a perfect union both in the Church & Commonwealth? I tell you it would in my conceite be a great blow to us, if by a generall meeting a generall peace should be concluded, and all their forces bent against Rome; and we see their politick King aimes at this.

True (quoth *Gondamore*) but he takes his marke amisse, howsoever hee understand the people and their inclination better then any man, and better knowes how to temper their passions and affections; for (besides that he is hindred there in Scotland underhand by some for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours, who are in great place & authoritie amongst them) hee is likewise deluded in this point even by his owne Clergie at home in England, who pretend to be most forward in the cause. For they considering if a generall uniformitie were wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all or most of theirs (as they feare) would flock thither for preferment (as men pressing towards the sunne for light and heate) and so their owne should be unprovided; these therefore (I say) howsoever they beare the King fairly in hand, are underhand against it, and stand stiffe for all ceremonies to be obruded with a kind of absolute necessitie upon them, when the other will not be almost drawne to receive any. When if an abatement were made, doubtlesse they might be drawne to meete in the midst; but there is no hope of this with them, where neither party deales seriously, but onely for the present to satisfie the King: and so there is no feare on our side, that affections and opinions so divers, will ever be reconciled and made one. Their Bishop
of S.

of *S. Andrewes* stands almost alone in the cause, and puts upon himself the labour, the losse and the envie of all, with little proficiency, whilst the adverse faction haue as sure friends and as good intelligence about the King as he hath, and the same Post perhaps that brings a packet from the King to him, brings another from their Abbettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counsels, & preparing them aforehand for opposition: this I know for truth, and this I reioyce in, as conducing much to the Catholick good.

But (quoth the Nuntio) are there none of the heretical preachers busie about this match? Me thinkes their fingers should itch to be writing and their tongues burn to be prating of this busynesse, especially the puritanicall sort, howsoever the most temperate and indifferent cary themselves.

The truth is my Lord (quoth the *Ambassadour*) that privately what they can, and publicquely what they dare, both in England & Scotland, all for the most part (except such as are of our faith) oppose this match to their utmost, by prayers, counsels, speeches, wishes; but if any be found longer tongued then his fellowes, we haue still meanes to charme their sawcinelle, to silence them, and expell them the Court, to disgrace them and crosse their preferments, with the imputation pragmaticke Puritanisme. For instance I will relate this particlar, A Doctor of theirs and a Chaplaine in ordinary to the King, gaue many reasons in a letter against this mariage, and propounded a way how to supply the Kings wants otherwise, which I understanding, so wrought underhand, that the Doctor was committed, and hardly escaped the danger of his presumptuous admonition, though the state knew his intent was honest, and his reasons good. Wherein wee on the other side, (both here and with the *Arch Duke*) haue had bookes penned, and pictures printed, directly against their King and state, for which their Ambassadours haue sought satisfaction of us in vaine, nor being able to stay the print, or so much as to touch the hem of the Authors garment. But wee haue an evasion, which hereticks misse, our Clergie being freed from the temporall sword, and so not included in our treaties and conditions of peace, but at libertie to give any hereticall Prince the Mate when

they list: whereas theirs are liable to accompt and hazard, & are
muzzled for barking, when ours may both barke and bite too.
The Councell table and the star-Chamber do so terrifie them,
as they dare not riot, but run at the stirrop in excellent comad,
and come in at the least rebuke. They call their preaching in
many places standing up, but they crouch and dare not stand
up nor quest, behaue themselves like Setters, silent and creeping
upon their bellies, lick the dust which our Priests shake from
their beautifull feete.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) satisfie me about our owne
Clergie how they fare. For there were here Petitions made to
the King in the name of the distressed, afflicted, persecuted and
imprisoned Priests, that his Maiestie would intercede for them,
to free them from the intollerable burdens they groned under,
and to procure their liberties: and letters were directed from
us to that end, that you should negotiate this demand with all
speed and diligence.

Most excellent Prince (replied *Gondamoro*) I did your com-
mand with a kind of command my selfe; not thinking it fit to
make it a suite in your name or my Masters, I obtained them li-
bertie to walke freely up and downe, to face and ourface their
accusers, Iudges, Magistrates, Bishops, and to exercise their
functions almost as freely altogether as safely as at Rome.

Here the Nuntio objected, that he did not well to his iudge-
ment in procuring their libertie, since they might doe more
good in priton then abroad. Because in priton they seemed to
be under persecution, and so were pittied of others; and pittie
of the pricion, prepares the affection further. Besides, then they
were careful over their owne lives to give no offence: but abro-
ade they might be scandalous in their lives, as they use to be in
Rome and *Spaine*, and other Catholik countreys; and so the opi-
nion of their holynesse which upholds their credit and cause
(against the married Clergie) would soone decay.

But the Ambassador replied, he considered those inconve-
niences, but besides a superior command, he saw the profit of
their libertie more then of their restraint. For now they might
freely confer, and were ever practising, and would doubtlesse
produce some worke of wonder. And besides by reason of
their

their authoritie and meanes to change places, did applyd themselves to many persons, whereas in prison they onely coualehem with such as came to be taught, or were their owne before And this (quoth he) I adde as a secer, that as before they were maintained by private contributions of devout Catholiques even to excellē, so much more now shall they be able to gather great summes, to weaken the State, and furnish them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinall *Woolsey* barrelling up gold for *Rome*. And this they may easily doe, since all Catholiques rob the hereticall Priests, and withhold tythes from them by fraud or force, to give to those of their owne to whom it is properly due. And if this be spied, it is an easie matter to lay all upon the *Hollander*, and say, he caries the coyne out of the land (who are forward enough indeed, in such practises) and so ours shall not onely be excused, but a flawe made betwixt them to weaken their amities, & beget suspicion betwixt them of each others loue.

But amongst all these priests (quoth the Inquisitor generall) did you remember that old, reverend, father Baldwin, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalfe against the Parliament house? such as he deserving so highly, adventuring their lives so resolutely for the Catholique cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to encourage others to the like holy undertakings.

Holy father (quoth *Gondamar*) my principall care was of him, whose life and libertie when I had with much difficultie obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person, attended with all my traine, and divers other well willers to fetch him out of the Tower where he was in durance. Alsoone as I came in his sight I behaved my selfe after so lowly & humble a maner, that our adversaries stood amazed to behold the reverence we give to our ghostly fathers. And this I did to confound them & their contemptuous Clergie, and to beget an extraordinary opinion of holiness in the person, & pietie in us, and also to prouoke the English Catholiques to the like devout obediencie, and thereby at any time these Iesuites (whose authoritie was somewhat weakened since the schisme betwixt them and the Seculars, and the succeeding powder-plot) may worke them

to our ends, as Masters their servants, Tutors their schollers, fathers their children, Kings their subiects. And that they may doe this the more boldly and securely, I haue somewhat dashed the authoritie of their high Comission; upon which whereas there are diuerse Pursuants (men of the worst kinde and condition, resembling our Flies and Familiars, attending upon the inquisition) whose office and imployment it is to disturbe the Catholiques, search their houses for *Priests*, holy vestments, bookes, brades, crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances, I haue caused the execution of their office to be slackned, that so an open way may be given to our spirituall instruments for the free exercise of their faculties. And yet when these *Pursuants* had greatest authoritie, a small bribe in the Countrey would blinde their eyes, or a little greater at Court or in the Exchequer frustrate and crosse all their actions, so that their malice went off like squibs, made a great crack to fright children and new borne babes, but hurt no old men of Catholique spirits. And this is the effect of all other their courses of proceeding in this kinde, in all their iudiciall Courts, whither knowne catholiques (conuicted as they stile them) are often summoned and cited, threatned and bound over, but the danger is past as soon as the officer hath his fee payd to him, then the execution goeth no further. Nay upon my conscience they are glad when there are offenders in that kinde, because they are bountifull: and the officers doe their best to faviour them, that they may increase, and so their revenue and gaine come in freely.

And if they should be sent to prison, even that place (for the most part) is made as a Sanctuary to them: as the old Romanes were wont to shut vp such by way of restraint, as they meant to preserve from the peoples fury; so they lue safe in prison till we haue time to worke their libertie and assure their lives. And in the meane time their place of restraint is as a study unto them, where they haue opportunitie to confer together as in a Colledge, and to aime themselves in unity against the single adversary abroad.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how doe they for booke, when they haue occasion either to write or dispute?

My Lord, (replyes Gondamor) all the Libraries belonging to the

* the Romane Catholiques through the land are at their command, from whence they haue all such collections as they can require gathered to their hand, aswell from thence as from all the Libraries of both Vniuersities, and even the bookes themselves if that be requisite.

Besides I haue made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the manuscripts & other ancient and rare Authours out of the hands of the Heretiques, so that there is no great Scholler dies in the land, but my Agents are dealing with his bookes. In so much as even their learned *Isaack Causabon*s library was in election without question to be ours, had not their vigilant King (who forsees all dangers, and hath his eye busie in euery place) prevented my plot. For after the death of that great scholler, I sent to request a view and catalogue of his bookes with their price, intending not to be out-vyed by any man, if money would fetch them; because (besides the damage that side should haue receiued by their losse, prosecuting the same story against Cardinall *Baronius*) we might haue made good advantage of his notes, collections, castigations, censures and criticismes for our owne party, and framed and put out others vnder his name at our pleasure. But this was foreseene by their *Prometheus*, who sent that *Torturer* of ours (the Bishop of *Winchester*) to search and sort the papers, and to seale vp the study: Giuing a large and princely allowance for them to the *Relicks* of *Causabon*, together with a bountifull pension & provision for her and hers. But this plot sayling at that time, hath not euer done so. Nor had the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* so triumphed in their many manuscripts giuen by that famous Knight *S. Thomas Bodly*, if either I had been then employed, or this course of mine then thought vpon; for I would labour what I might this way or any other way to disarm them, and either to translate their best authours hither, or at least to leaue none in the hands of any but Romane Catholiques who are assuredly ours. And to this end an especiall eye would be had vpon the Library of one *S. Robert Cotton* (an ingrosser of Antiquities) that whensoever it come to be broken vp (eyther before his death or after) the most choice and singular pieces might be gleaned and gathered up, by a Catholique hand. Neyther let

Any man thinke , that descending thus low to pettie particulars is vnworthy an Ambassadour , or of small auayle for the ends we ayme at , since we see every mountayne consists of severall sands ; and there is no more profitable conuersing for Statesmen then amongst schollers & their books, specially where the King for whom we watch is the King of Schollers, and loves to liue almost altogether in their element. Besides if by any meanes we can continue differences in their Church, or make them wider, or beget distaste betwixt their Clergy and commō Lawyer, who are men of greatest power in the land, the benefit will be ours, the consequence great, opening a way for vs to come in betweene , for personall quarrels produce reall questions.

As he was further prosecuting this discourse , one of the Secretaries (who wayted without the chamber) desired entrance; and being admitted , deliuered letters which he had newly receiued from a Post directed to the President and the rest of the Councell from his Catholike master, the contents whereof were to this effect.

Right trusty and welbeloued Cousens and Councillors, we greete you wel: Wheras we had a hope by our Agents in England and Germany , to effect that great worke of the Westerne Empire; and likewise on the other side to surprize Venice, and so incircling Europe at one instâr , & infolding it in our armes, make the easier roade vpon the Turke in Asia , and at length reduce all the world to our catholique commaund. And whereas to these holy ends we had secret and sure plots and projects on foot in all those places , and good intelligence in all Courts;

Know now that wee haue receiued late and sad newes of the apprehension of our most trusty and able Pensioner *Barnvelt* , and of the discouery of other our intendements ; so that our hopes are for the present adourned till some other more conuenient and auspicious time. We therefore will you presently vpon sight hereof, to breake off our consultation, and repaire straight to our presence , there to take further directions, and proceed as the necessity of time & cause should require.

Winh that his Excellencie and the whole house strook with
amaze-

amazement, crost their foreheads, rose vp in sad silence, and
brake off this Treaty abruptly, and without tar-
riance tooke horse and posted to Courte.
From whence expect newes the
next fayre winde.

*In the meane tyme, Let not those be secure, whom it concernes
to be rowsed vp, knowing that this aspiring Nebuchad-
nezar wil not loose the glorie of his greatnes, (who
continueth still to magnifie himselfe in his
great Babel,) untill it be spoken,
thy kingdome is depar-
ted from thee.*

Dan. 4

